

## Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 ROME 02020 011708Z  
ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W  
-----117563 011712Z /43  
P 011607Z FEB 78  
FM AMEMBASSY ROME  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 326

S E C R E T ROME 2020

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: XGDS-3  
TAGS: PINT, IT  
SUBJECT: PRIME MINISTER'S VIEWS ON GOVERNMENT CRISIS

REF: ROME 1942

SUMMARY. PRIME MINISTER ANDREOTTI, BEING ENGAGED IN ENDLESS CONSULTATIONS ON THE GOVERNMENT CRISIS, ASKED HIS DIPLOMATIC ADVISER, LA ROCCA, TO GIVE ME A FULL RUNDOWN ON THE CURRENT STATUS OF THE INTERPARTY NEGOTIATION AND SUNSULTATIONS THAT HE IS CONDUCTING IN AN EFFORT TO RESOLVE THE CRISIS. TH DC EXCLUDES AN EMERGENCY GOVERNMENT OR A BROAD "POLITICAL AGREE-  
MENT" WITH THE PCI. IT ALSO DOESN'T WANT ELECTIONS. ANDREOTTI IS TRYING TO NEGOTIATE WHAT THE NEWSPAPERS ARE CALLING A PRO-GRAMMATIC MAJORITY WITH NON-POLITICAL TECHNICIANS IN SEVERAL MINSTERIAL POSITIONS. PROSPECTS FOR SUCCESS ARE UNCERTAIN, BUT NEXT WEEK APPEARS TO BE CRUCIAL. END SUMMARY.

1. LA ROCCA BEGAN BY DESCRIBING THREE DC "CONCLUSIONS:"  
(A) A GOVERNMENT OF EMERGENCY WILL NOT BE CONSIDERED.  
(B) THE DC IS OPPOSED TO A BROAD "POLITICAL AGREEMENT" BETWEEN THE DC AND THE OTHER PARTIES (INCLUDING THE PCI). ALTHOUGH THE PRI AND PSI WANT SUCH AN AGREEMENT, THE DC IS NOT PREPARED TO GO THAT FAR. (C) ELECTIONS ARE NOT THE WAY OUT. ONLY THE MSI WANTS THEM. THE DC IS OPPOSED TO  
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 ROME 02020 011708Z

ELECTIONS BECAUSE THE EXPECTED GAINS FOR THE DC WOULD BE AT THE EXPENSE OF THE LAY PARTIES, ESPECIALLY THE PSDI, PLI, AND DN. THE DC NEEDS THE SMALL LAY PARTIES TO GIVE IT ROOM FOR MANEUVER IS-A-VIS THE PCI. DC ALSO EXPECTS PCI TO LOSE, AT EXPENSE OF PSI. DESPITE ITS FREQUENTLY PROCLAIMED OPPOSITION TO ELECTIONS, THE PCI IS ACTIVELY PREPARING FOR THEM BY MOBILIZING THE BASE ORGANIZATIONS AND THROUGH PUBLICLY TAKEN

POSITIONS OF PARTY LEADERS (E.G. LAMA'S RECENT "SOFT-LINE" POSITION ON LABOR AND BERLINGUER'S "HARD-LINE" SPEECH TO THE CNETRAL COMMITTEE).

2. THE ONLY WAY OUT THAT ANDREOTTI CAN SEE IS A "PARLIAMENTARY AGREEMENT ON A LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM FOR 1978." THE AGREEMENT WOULD BE LIMITED TO 1978, IT WOULD FOCUS ON ECONOMIC PROBLEMS, REFERENDA, AND PUBLIC ORDER. IT WOULD BE ESSENTIALLY THE SAME AS THE SIX-PARTY AGREEMENT OF JULY 15, 1977, EXCEPT THAT THE PARTIES THAT SUPPORT THE PROGRAM WOULD VOTE AFFIRMATIVELY RATHER THAN ABSTAIN ON THE VOTE OF CONFIDENCE, AND THE PROGRAM ELEMENTS WOULD BE DESCRIBED IN GREATER DETAIL AND MORE SPECIFICALLY THAN WAS THE CASE IN THE SIX PARTY AGREEMENT OF JULY. AS A PUBLICLY ANNOUNCED PART OF THE AGREEMENT, THE DC WOULD SEEK A FIRM COMMITMENT FROM THE OTHER PARTIES NOT TO SEEK FUNDAMENTAL ALTERATIONS IN THE AGREEMENT OR IN THE GOVERNMENT FORMAT DURING 1978 (I.E. ESPECIALLY DURING THE SIX MONTHS BEFORE ELECTION OF A NEW PRESIDENT IN DECEMBER). THE GOVERNMENT WOULD BE ALL DC EXCEPT FOR SOME TECHNICIANS WHOM ANDREOTTI WISHES TO INCLUDE IN MINISTERIAL POSITIONS. THESE "TECHNICIANS" WOULD NOT BE PARLIAMENTARIANS, BUT WOULD BE PEOPLE "LIKE OSSOLA" (CURRENTLY MINISTER OF FOREIGN TRADE), AND THE PCI WOULD NOT PARTICIPATE IN THEIR SELECTION. ANDREOTTI WOULD ALSO PLAN TO "RESTRUCTURE" SOME OF THE ECONOMIC/FINANCIAL MINISTRIES (LA ROCCA

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 ROME 02020 011708Z

MENTIONED, AS AN EXAMPLE, TRANSFERRING BUDGET TO THE PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE). IN PRESENTING SUCH AN AGREEMENT TO THE PARLIAMENT, THE DC WOULD INSIST THAT IT IS NOT A "POLITICAL AGREEMENT" BECAUSE IT IS NOT COMPREHENSIVE, BUT IS INSTEAD LIMITED IN SUBJECTS AND TIME. WHEN I ASKED WHETHER FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND DEFENSE WOULD BE INCLUDED, LA ROCCA SAID THAT THERE HAS BEEN NO DISCUSSION OF EITHER TO DATE. WITH REGARD TO FOREIGN AFFAIRS, HE SAID THAT IT IS POSSIBLE THAT THE AGREEMENT WILL INCLUDE A REFERENCE, IN GENERAL TERMS, TO THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE AND THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY AS CORNERSTONES OF ITALIAN FOREIGN POLICY.

3. AS TO THE PROSPECTS FOR SUCCESS, LA ROCCA QUOTED ANDREOTTI AS SAYING THAT "WE ARE ON THE RAZOR'S EDGE" AND THAT NEXT WEEK WILL BE CRUCIAL. HE EXPECTS THAT CRAXI WILL HELP (AND PERHAPS ALSO LA MALFA), BUT THE ATTITUDE OF THE PCI IS VERY "UNCERTAIN." IF THE EFFORT FAILS AND ELECTIONS BECOME INEVITABLE, ANDREOTTI AND THE DC ATTACH GREAT IMPORTANCE TO ORCHESTRATING THE FAILURE IN SUCH A WAY THAT THE PCI IS CLEARLY AND PUBLICLY SADDLED WITH THE RESPONSIBILITY. IN ALL OF THIS,

LA ROCCA SAID, THE DC'S AIM IS TO ISOLATE THE PCI BY FINDING A PACKAGE THAT THE PSI AND PRI CAN SUPPORT. HOWEVER, HE ADDED, THE PSI AND PRI ARE SO FEARFUL OF ELECTIONS THAT THEY ARE TEMPTED TO GO ALONG WITH ANYTHING THE PCI WANTS SO LONG AS ELECTIONS ARE AVOIDED.

4. ON A FINAL NOTE, LA ROCCA CALLED MY ATTENTION TO THE PROBABILITY THAT, IF ANDREOTTI FAILS, THE PCI AND THE LAY PARTIES WILL STRONGLY PRESS LEONE TO ASK FIGURE (E.G. LA MALFA) TO ATTEMPT TO FORM A GOVERNMENT. SINCE THEY CAN THEORETICALLY SCRAPE TOGETHER A BARE MAJORITY (THE DC NOT BEING ABLE TO "USE" MSI VOTES TO DEFEAT IT), SUCH A GOVERNMENT REMAINS A VAGUE POSSIBILITY. BUT MORE LIKELY IS THE POSSIBILITY THAT THE LAY PARTY PRIME MINISTER-DESIGNATE  
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 04 ROME 02020 011708Z

WOULD REPORT FAVORABLY TO LEONE, HAVE HIS GOVERNMENT SWORN IN, AND THEN FAIL THE CONFIDENCE VOTE. THIS WOULD LEAVE THE NEWLY SWORN-IN LAY PARTY GOVERNMENT AS THE CARETAKER PENDING FORMATION OF ANOTHER GOVERNMENT OR OF ELECTIONS--A PROSPECT THAT IS MOST UNWELCOME TO THE DC. GARNER

SECRET

NNN

## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** Z  
**Capture Date:** 01 jan 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** PRIME MINISTER, PERSONAL OPINION, POLITICAL SITUATION  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 01 feb 1978  
**Decaption Date:** 20 Mar 2014  
**Decaption Note:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 20 Mar 2014  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1978ROME02020  
**Document Source:** CORE  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** n/a  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** X3  
**Errors:** N/A  
**Expiration:**  
**Film Number:** D780048-0499  
**Format:** TEL  
**From:** ROME  
**Handling Restrictions:**  
**Image Path:**  
**ISecure:** 1  
**Legacy Key:** link1978/newtext/t197802106/aaaadlrm.tel  
**Line Count:** 142  
**Litigation Code IDs:**  
**Litigation Codes:**  
**Litigation History:**  
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM  
**Message ID:** 24916dcd-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc  
**Office:** ACTION SS  
**Original Classification:** SECRET  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** EXDIS  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 3  
**Previous Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Previous Classification:** SECRET  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** EXDIS  
**Reference:** 78 ROME 1942  
**Retention:** 0  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 13 may 2005  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**SAS ID:** 3441828  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** PRIME MINISTER'S VIEWS ON GOVERNMENT CRISIS  
**TAGS:** PINT, IT, (ANDREOTTI, GIULIO)  
**To:** STATE  
**Type:** TE  
**vdkgvwkey:** odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS\_Docs/24916dcd-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc  
**Review Markings:**  
Sheryl P. Walter  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
20 Mar 2014  
**Markings:** Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014